

17 July 1953

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Extracts from the book entitled "Laszlo RAJK and his Accomplices before the People's Court", mentioning Allen W. DULLES.

1. Pages 10-11: "The coming into prominence of the Yugoslav spies was connected with the fact that American spies, agents, provocateurs, and Trotskyists like Rajk himself had come into power in liberated Yugoslavia. . . . Encouraged by this success, the American imperialists set themselves no smaller target than, with the assistance of Tito and company, to attempt to bring the countries of the people's democracies over to their side. Rajk said of this: 'Rankovics, Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs, told me squarely that the people's democracies must unite under the leadership of Yugoslavia and Tito.' In pursuit of this aim the Yugoslav, American and other intelligence services gave every support in their power to Rajk. In November, 1946, they gave him Dr. Tibor Szonyi for a subordinate. On the instructions of Allan DULLES, head of the OSS American espionage organisation in Switzerland, Szonyi had organised a spy ring from among Hungarian Trotskyist emigrees in Switzerland. In the winter of 1944-45 this spy ring was sent by DULLES, with the assistance of Tito's agents in France and Switzerland, and by way of Belgrade, to Hungary in an American military plane, as a Yugoslav military mission, that is, into the rear of the Soviet Army. . . ."

2. Pages 20-21: The following appears under the heading "The Indictment" by Dr. Gyula Alapi, President of the Prosecutor's Office, Budapest, September 6, 1949: "Dr. Tibor Szonyi was born in 1903. From 1930 to 1945, when he came to Hungary as an American spy, he lived exclusively abroad. In 1938 he appeared in Switzerland where he organised a group of Trotskyists among the Hungarian emigres there. Soon he established contact with Noel H. Field, one of the leaders of the American espionage service, and later with his chief, Allan DULLES, who was the European head of the United States espionage service called the 'Office of Strategic Services' (OSS). . . . On the instructions of DULLES, Tibor Szonyi established contact with Misa Lompar, the present first counsellor to the Yugoslav Legation in Bucharest, who during the war was the common spy of Tito and of the United States in Switzerland and who, like Szonyi, spied for DULLES in return for financial rewards. . . . In February, 1947, Szonyi received special instructions to put the American spies Bela Szasz, Gyorgy Adam and Ivan Mate into important positions in the public administration. In the autumn of 1946, on the instructions of Allan DULLES, Szonyi subordinated his work to Rajk and put his espionage group at his disposal..."

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3. Page 113: Chapter entitled "Examination of Lazar Brankov":  
"Brankov testifying stated that he was a member of Yugoslav military mission and was chief representative of the UDB from 1947 until September 1948. He stated that he arrived in Hungary in 1945. Brankov was asked, what co-operation in Hungary did he know of between his intelligence service and the Anglo-American intelligence service operating here?"

Brankov: I know of a concrete case, which occurred as early as 1945...

The President: Was this the Szonyi spy group?

Brankov: Yes, this was the Szonyi spy group. This happened thus:

. . . Thus, with the help of Tito's and Rankovich's representatives, the Americans succeeded in sending this spy group of Szonyi's to Hungary to throw them behind the Soviet lines. This I know definitely, because in 1947-48, when I was chief UDB representative, I had occasion ex officio to look at the secret files and documents of the UDB, and then I talked with Colonel Cicmil who co-operated in this. Allan DULLES, in Switzerland, was the head of American intelligence in Europe, the OSS. The representative of Tito and Rankovich, called Misa Lompar, who was then in Switzerland, established good contacts with him and co-operated with him. Then Allan DULLES sent this spy ring into Hungary with Lompar's help through Yugoslavia."

4. Page 122: "Brankov: Lompar's task was to collaborate in the closest possible way with the Anglo-American intelligence service there. (Switzerland) He was connected to Allan DULLES, the head of the American Office of Strategic Services, who was in Switzerland."

5. Pages 146-153: Chapter entitled: "Examination of Dr. Tibor Szonyi":  
"The President speaking to Szonyi: You were organized by the American spy service in Switzerland. Tell us in detail when and under what circumstances you were brought into the organization?"

Szonyi:....During the war, the American military strategic intelligence, the so-called Office of Strategic Services, had its European centre in Switzerland. Its head was Allan DULLES, as representative in Europe. Officially, Allan DULLES was assigned to the American Legation in Berne. Actually, he was the European head of the OSS. In the summer of 1944, towards the end of war, in its last year, it had become obvious that a part of the East Europe and Central European countries would be liberated by the Soviet troops. At that time, the American intelligence service, under the leadership of Allan DULLES, began to concentrate on the task of bringing into its organization spies from the political emigres there.... The chief helpmate and closest collaborator of Allan DULLES in his work of organizing spies from among the political emigres was Noel H. Field.... Further helpers and direct collaborators of Allan DULLES in this work were the Yugoslav spies. In fact, Misa Lompar, who was then in Zurich, officially as the head of the Yugoslav emigre group, was, however, in reality even then an American spy and direct collaborator of DULLES....An assistant of DULLES was the Yugoslav spy Latinovich, who worked first in Switzerland, in Geneva, and later became Consul General in France, in Marseilles. Another assistant of DULLES was a Yugoslav spy called Confino....Lompar proposed to me in September 1944, that I should enter into direct contact with OSS leader Allan DULLES....I worked out a memorandum with Ferenc Vagi about the political

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conception of the members of my group and myself.....I sent this memorandum through Lompar to DULLES and then at the end of September 1944, my first personal meeting with Allan DULLES took place in Berne. I met DULLES regularly until my return home in January, 1945. My formal enrollment into the American spy organization took place at the end of November 1944 in Berne... At this meeting at the end of November 1944, despite there being no difference of opinion between us in the question of the common activities and though I entirely identified myself with the point of view he explained to me, DULLES showed me, as a means of terrorising me, the receipt I had signed on a previous occasion for Noel H. Field, the leader of the relief organization I mentioned before, for a subsidy I had received. I saw this receipt in DULLES' hand in November, 1944. Later I met DULLES more than once..... I found out that a secret contact was established in 1944 between the Yugoslav prime minister Tito and Allan DULLES....Szonyi speaking about his group: DULLES gave orders at the end of November 1944, to prepare, together with my group, to return home, and that he himself would organize the transference of the group to Hungary....Ivan Foldi task was, on the one hand, until he came home to Hungary, to continue there his destructive work, under my instructions, against the Hungarian Government, on the other hand I entrusted him with the handing on of secret intelligence material to Field, and through Field to Allan DULLES....Immediately after my discussion with DULLES I turned to Mihajlo Lompar who supplied us -- the group of six -- with forged papers for the journey....On DULLES' instructions Field had previously authorized 4000 Swiss francs for the travelling expenses of the group....For, as I said, at our last meeting in December 1944, in Berne, Allan DULLES head of the OSS, told me the intelligence channels through which I could keep in touch with him....When in 1944, at the end of November and then in December, I had my last two talks with Allan DULLES, the head of the OSS in Berne, then he first of all gave me definite instructions on the tasks which would await us on our return to Hungary and afterwards. At the same time he told me the channels for forwarding intelligence.... When Ivan Foldi, at the end of 1945, came to Budapest for a few days from Geneva to report on his work there, on my instructions and in my presence Ferenc Vagi and Ivan Foldi agreed that Ferenc Vagi should regularly supply secret information of a political and economic nature through Ivan Foldi to Noel H. Field, and through him to DULLES....When Ivan Foldi returned to Switzerland in 1946 I instructed him to prepare the return of the members of the group still remaining there, and also his own return to Hungary, and at the same time to discuss with Noel H. Field how we should maintain contact afterwards. Foldi was again in Budapest for a few days in the autumn of 1946 and he told me then that he had passed on my message to Field, who sent me the answer that the contact would soon be reestablished. This did in fact happen through my receiving instructions by a special courier from Wagner, that is from Allan DULLES, to get in touch with Laszlo Rajk....I contacted Rajk at the end of November 1946. But before that I should say that in my discussions with DULLES in November 1944 DULLES questioned me in detail about what possibilities I had for infiltrating into the Hungarian Communist Party."

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6. Page 159: "The President: (Speaking to Szonyi) Step forward. Do you know the people in these photographs? (He shows three photographs to Szonyi)

Szonyi: I know them.

The President: Who is that?

Szonyi: Noel Field.

The President: This?

Szonyi: I don't know him. This man I don't know.

The President: You don't recognize Allan DULLES here?

Szonyi: Oh yes, I do recognize him. At that time he did not wear spectacles.

7. Pages 239-242: "Examination of Ivan Foldi": "Foldi: In September 1944 Szonyi came into contact with Allan DULLES the European head of the American strategic intelligence service, on the initiative and with the active co-operation of Misa Lompar, the head of the Yugoslav spy ring in Switzerland, in Berne. DULLES was known as an employee of the American Legation in Berne. He brought in Tibor Szonyi as an agent of the American intelligence service. I was informed of Szonyi's conference with DULLES from one of the members of our espionage group, Gyorgy Demeter, who had taken part in this conference. On DULLES' orders, Tibor Szonyi organized the members of his group -- Ferenc Vagi, Gyorgy Demeter, Mrs. Gyorgy Demeter, Andras Kalman, Janos Dobo, Gyula Kuti, Gyorgy Hodos, Peter Balaban, and myself....In the first three months of 1945 Tibor Szonyi organized and carried out, on DULLES orders, the putting across of a part of his espionage group to Hungary, a country in the rear of the Red Army, with the purpose that this espionage group should carry on espionage and wrecking work in Hungary....When Allan DULLES, in the autumn of 1944 entrusted Szonyi with the organization and carrying-out of the job of putting his spy ring across the border to Hungary, he at the same time instructed Szonyi to begin his espionage and harmful activities against the interests of the Hungarian Government, starting with the time after his spy ring had arrived on Hungarian territory, liberated by the Red Army; to sabotage the plans for the people's economy and in general to do a job of wrecking and disorganization in every field of state and economic life....According to instructions from Tibor Szonyi I stayed in Switzerland from January 1945 until February 1947, running a courier service between his detachment and the American and Yugoslav intelligence service organs in Switzerland. During this time, I regularly conveyed to Field and, through his intermediary to DULLES, reports from Tibor Szonyi and Ferenc Vagi, another member of his group...In November 1945, a secret conference was held in Szonyi's Budapest flat where, besides Szonyi and myself, another member of our spy group, Ferenc Vagi, was also present. At this conference Szonyi advised Vagi to forward the information material concerning the country's political and economic life, through special couriers and Yugoslav spies to my address in Geneva, so that I could hand it over to Field and through him to DULLES. From this time until August 1946, I regularly received espionage reports from Vagi which I conveyed to Field and through him to DULLES in Switzerland...The bulk of

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the spy reports, however, was forwarded from Hungary to Switzerland through Yugoslav spies who were placed in the Yugoslav diplomatic missions and other Yugoslav state organs. The channel through which the spy reports were forwarded from Budapest to Geneva, was as follows: Colonel Cicmil, head of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Budapest—Major Kalafatic, responsible member of the OZNA Yugoslav intelligence service, Belgrade—Latinovich, Yugoslav consul and, at the same time, Yugoslav spy in Marseilles—and finally Mihajlo Lompar, head in Switzerland of the Yugoslav intelligence service and, at the same time high ranking consular officer in Geneva. From him, I received the espionage reports, forwarding them to American agent Field and through him to DULLES."

8. Pages 244-245: "Examination of Dr. Andras Kalman": "Kalman: Tibor Szonyi entered into contact with Noel Field in Geneva, who was a member of the OSS of the US....The European head of this American Office of Strategic Services was, Allan DULLES, who during the war lived in Berne. He covered his intelligence work under the disguise of being an American Legation employee in Switzerland....At the same time, at the beginning of 1944, Tibor Szonyi made intelligence contacts with a Yugoslav called Misa Lompar, who was the Yugoslav intelligence service representative in Switzerland. I knew that Lompar was in close contact with Allan DULLES and was fulfilling intelligence missions for him. I could also convince myself of this at first hand, when Lompar proposed to Tibor Szonyi that he would put him also in touch with DULLES. The suggestion was discussed by the leadership of our group -- of which I too was a member -- by Szonyi and Ferenc Vagi and another member of our group. The leadership of our group entrusted Szonyi with discussing this with DULLES. Szonyi prepared a memorandum for DULLES in which he expressed his readiness, as well as that of the group, to render services to the United States after the war on returning to Hungary. In the autumn of 1944 Szonyi met DULLES in Berne a number of times. On orders from DULLES, Szonyi began preparations for the return home. Five members of the group had to travel with him, that is Ferenc Vagi, Gyorgy Demeter, Janos Dobo, Gyula Kuti, and I. The other members of the group had to remain in Switzerland under the leadership of Ivan Foldi, so that they could make sure of the contact between Szonyi and Allan DULLES through Field, after Szonyi had returned home. Important help was rendered by the Yugoslav authorities and the Yugoslav intelligence service in connection with the journey home. This happened on the instructions of DULLES.

9. Page 263: "Dr. Gyula Alapi, The Prosecutor's Speech": "Of Tibor Szonyi it was proved that during the war he became an American spy, that in Switzerland he received instructions from Noel H. Field and Allan DULLES, that under their direction he organized a spy group from among Hungarian refugees, that he returned home to Hungary with the aid of the Yugoslav agents of the American spy organizations, and that with his entire activity in Hungary he served the American and Yugoslav spy organizations."

10. Page 263: "But it is in the light of these infamous plans, these infamous conditions, these conditions injuring our honour, that we can best see the endeavour of the western imperialist radio and press, to make Rajk

and his accomplices the representatives of some "national line". The representative of the national line as far as the ruling circles of London and Washington, and the spokesmen of the British and American imperialists are concerned, is a man who was for 18 years a professional informer and a traitor, who sold his fatherland retail and wholesale, to foreign imperialists and chiefs of espionage from Noel H. Field and Allan DULLES through the Deuxieme Bureau and the Gestapo to the intelligence organizations of Tito and Rankovich."

11. Page 264: It is no accident that Rajk, Szonyi and their company were ordered by their imperialist bosses from DULLES to Rankovich and Tito to make the Party of the Hungarian Communists, the Hungarian Working People's Party, unfit for the fight."

12. Page 269: "Honoured members of the People's Court! At this trial not only the Yugoslav masters of Rajk and his accomplices are in the dock but also Tito's masters, the western and primarily the American imperialists. This trial throws light upon the special methods of disorganization employed by the American intelligence services. For it becomes evident from the material of the trial that the American intelligence services were already getting ready during the war against Hitler for the fight against the forces of socialism and democracy. They did this not only by diplomatic and political methods but with the base means of internally disorganizing the democratic forces and revolutionary workers' parties. Behind Rankovich there are the shadows of Mr. Field and Mr. DULLES."

13. Page 270: "What basis do they have for denying that Mr. Allen DULLES had something to do with Tibor Szonyi's espionage groups when Allan DULLES' brother, John Foster DULLES, announced the so-called "Operation X" project for organizing underground movements — in the people's democracies in the spring of 1948, that is, at the very time that Tito and Rajk and company intensified their activities? The substance of this secret plan was summarised by the Swiss paper "Die Tat", in its issue of April 26, 1949, after John Foster DULLES, as follows: 'The West attempted first of all to penetrate into the cadres and elite of the ruling classes of the people's democracies and it is said they succeeded in this beyond their hopes.' So the paper "Die Tat" wrote in the issue referred to. — Well, the material of the whole trial is contained in this confession of a few lines as well as Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovich, and the whole gang. Here the practical execution of the project of the American imperialists called "Operation X" was unveiled. So what is the use of Mr. Chapin's, Mr. DULLES', and Lieutenant Colonel Kovach's denial and alibi?"

14. Page 283: Speech of Dr. Gyorgy Csanady, Counsel for Defense for Dr. Tibor Szonyi: "This means that Szonyi, was purposely, and by artful methods, drawn into the espionage organization, first through financial obligations, then through ideological deception, and it is characteristic

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that when Szonyi was already willing to enter the service of the espionage organization, then DULLES, just to make quite certain, produced from his pocket the receipt for the financial aid. Szonyi's first step on the path of crime was not taken on his own initiative, was not even a consequence of fear of physical punishment, on the contrary it was the result of the thorough manifold organizing activity of the imperialist agents, and we cannot entirely disregard this fact in establishing Szonyi's responsibility."